

Message Text

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 01908 011850Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 1908

E.O. 11652: GDS
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SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFIARS: THE GREEK PROSPECTIVE FOR 1976

REF: STATE 37591

1. BACKGROUND. DURING THE SEVEN-YEAR PERIOD OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT (1976-74), GREECE WAS PROGRESSIVELY CONSTRICTED IN ITS EFFORTS AT FURTHERING ITS FOREIGN RELATIONS OBJECTIVES THROUGH MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY. WITH THE REUTN OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN 1974 UNDER PROME MINISTER CARAMANLIS, GREECE HAS ONCE AGIN BECOME INTERNATIMNALLY "RESPECTABLE," AND THE COUNTRY HAS SOUGHT TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN THIS RESPECT. WHILE NEIGHER GREECE'S INFLUENCE NOT ITS PRETENSIONS SHOULD BE UNDULY EXAGGERATED, ALL INDICATIONS ARE THAT GREECE WILL CONTINUE ITS RESUMED ACTIVITY IN MULITLATERAL DIPLOMACY.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 01908 011850Z

2. MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS QUESTIONNAIRE. IN RESPONSE

TO THE QUERIES POSED IN PARAGRAPH SEVEN OF REFTEL, OUR ASSESSMENT IS AS FOLLOWS:

3. (A) IN POLITICAL TERMS, GREECE'S BASIC STANCE IN ITS OVERALL MULTILATERAL STRATEGY WILL CONTINUE TO BE DETERMINED LARGELY BY THE CYPRUS QUESTION AND GREECE'S STRAINED RELATIONS WITH TURKEY. THESE TWIN FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS MANIFESTED THEMSELVES IN A VARIETY OF WAYS THIS PAST YEAR, SUCH AS IN GREECE'S EFFORTS TO OFFEND AS FEW NATIONS AS POSSIBLE DURING THE LAST UNGA IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN SUPPORT FOR THE RESOLUTION ON CYPRUS (GREECE WAS HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL) OR AMBIVALENCE OF A SPECIFIC LOS MATTER (OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON THE UNIMPeded FREE PASSAGE OF THE STRAITS) BECAUSE OF THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE RESPECTIVE GREEK AND TURKISH POSITIONS ON AEGEAN SEA ISSUES. WE CAN EXPECT THE SAME CONSIDERATIONS TO BE PREDOMINANT IN DETERMINING GREEK POSITIONS AND VOTES IN INTERNATIONAL FORA IN 1976.

4. DURING 1976 NEGOTIATIONS WILL CONTINUE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GREECE AND NATO, WHERE GREECE SEEKS TO REDEFINE ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MILITARY SIDE OF THE ORGANIZATION.

5. ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, GREECE'S PRIMARY EFFORT WILL BE TO CONTINUE THE MOMENTUM OF ITS APPLICATION TO BECOME A FULL MEMBER IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. NEGOTIATIONS WILL LIKELY BEGIN THIS FALL AND GREECE CAN BE EXPECTED TO DO ALL IT CAN TO TRY AND SPEED UP THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ARE ALSO INFLUENTIAL CONSIDERATIONS. THE AVAILABILITY OF MULTILATERAL SOURCES FOR OFFICIAL BORROWING HAS BEEN VERY IMPORTANT AND GREEK AUTHORITIES HOPE THAT SUCH ASSISTANCE, PARTICULARLY FROM THE IMF AND OECD OIL FACILITY, WILL CONTINUE TO BE AVAILABLE. THE IBRD, EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AGENCIES SUCH AS THE EUROPEAN INVESTMENT BANK, AND TO A LESSER DEGREE THE UN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, WILL PROVIDE SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE FOR INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS. INTERNATIONAL TRADE IS REGARDED AS A CRUCIAL AREA, AND THE GOG FOLLOWS THE GATT AND MTN COLOSELY. IN A LESS FORMALIZED SENSE, GREECE SEEKS CLOSER

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ATHENS 01908 011850Z

RELATIONS WITH THE COUNCIL OF THE MIDDLE EAST TO SECURE OIL SUPPLIES, PROMOTE GREEK EXPORTS AND ENCOURAGE INVESTMENT INFLOWS. IN ADDITION GREECE PARTICIPATES IN A VARIETY OF SPECIALIZED ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS IMCO AND ICAO, AND HAS SHOWN SOME INTEREST IN COMMODITY PRODUCER GROUPS.

6. (B) GREECE IS ESSENTIALLY A FOLLOWER RATHER THAN A LEADER IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. ALTHOUGH HARDLY A

CLIENT STATE, GREECE IS RESPONSIVE TO PRESSURES, ESPECIALLY WHEN LEVERAGE IS EXERTED BY GROUPS OF COUNTRIES GREECE FEELS ARE IMPORTANT IN SUPPORTING IT ON MATTERS CONCERNING CYPRUS AND TURKEY. WE SAW THIS LAST YEAR AT THE UNGA WHERE GREECE WAS UNWILLING TO TAKE POSITIONS ON SEVERAL ISSUES FOR FEAR OF ANTAGONIZING MEMBERS OF THE NONALIGNED BLOC ON THE KEY ISSUE FOR GREECE, I.E. THE CYPRUS RESOLUTION. OFTEN THE VERY BEST THAT GREECE WOULD DO WHEN PRESSED BY THE US (THE AMERICAN SAMOA, GUAM, AND THE U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS RESOLUTION, FOR INSTANCE) WOULD BE TO ABSTAIN. INCREASINGLY, GREECE WILL BE LOOKING TO WHAT POSITIONS THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ARE TAKING IN DETERMINING ITS OWN POSITIONS. IN ADDITION THE ARAB COUNTRIES, BECAUSE OF THEIR THIRD WORLD INFLUENCE, THEIR OWN NUMBERS AS WELL AS THEIR GEOGRAPHIC PROXIMITY AND RAPIDLY GROWING ECONOMIC RESOURCES, WILL BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION BY THE GOG IN FORMULATING ITS POSITIONS, ESPECIALLY IN THE UN.

7. (C) OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT GREEK DELEGATES TO MOST INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS ARE GENERALLY WELL INSTRUCTED AND ADEQUATELY BRIEFED. THE GOG GENERALLY RETAINS EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER ITS DELEGATIONS TO IMPORTANT MEETINGS INVOLVING PRIMARY GREEK INTERESTS, ALTHOUGH THIS CAN BREAK DOWN IN FAST MOVING SITUATIONS. WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY FOUND THE GOG TO BE ACCURATELY AND PROMPTLY INFORMED ON ISSUES OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO IT (BUT THIS IS NOT ALWAYS THE CASE ON ISSUES OF MARGINAL INTEREST TO THE GOG). THE GOG IS THUS USUALLY ABREAST OF DEVELOPMENTS AND IS ABLE TO REACT IN A TIMELY AND REALISTIC FASHION. COORDINATION PROBLEMS ARE GENERALLY FEW ON TRULY IMPORTANT ISSUES SINCE THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IN THESE CASES IS FREQUENTLY CONFINED TO A SMALL GROUP OF OFFICIALS, OFTEN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ATHENS 01908 011850Z

INVOLVING THE PRIME MINISTER PERSONALLY. THIS EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION DOES NOT NECESSARILY PERSIST, HOWEVER, AT MEETINGS OR ON QUESTIONS NOT OF PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE TO GREECE.

8. (D) TO THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE ALL THE GREEK PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OR HEADS OF DELEGATION AT NEW YORK, GENEVA, THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND MAJOR REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE CAREER DIPLOMATS OR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. AS SUCH THEY DO NOT HAVE ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL INDEPENDENT POWER AND IT IS NOT DIFFICULT FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO CONTROL/INSTRUCT THEM. (AT THE SAME TIME, FREQUENTLY, BECAUSE THE MAN-ON-THE-SPOT IS IN A BETTER POSITION TO JUDGE THE TACTICAL SITUATION, THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OR HEAD OF DELEGATION IS GIVEN CONSIDERABLE DISCRETION OR

FEEXIBILITY IN CARRYING OUT HIS GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS.)

9. (E) THE GOG IS NORMALLY RECEPTIVE TO US REPRESENTATIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES AND HAS GENERALLY WELCOMED CONSULTATIONS WITH US. GREEK OFFICIALS PRETTY MUCH ACCEPT THAT USG/GOG INTERACTION ON THESE ISSUES IS PART OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, AS STRESSED ELSEWHERE IN THIS ANALYSIS, CONSIDERATIONS WITH RESPECT TO CYPRUS AND RELATIONS WITH TURKEY ARE THE MOST INFLUENTIAL FACTORS IN DETERMINING GREECE'S POSITION ON AN INCREASING NUMBER OF MULTILATERAL ISSUES. THUS, AS WE FOUND DURING THE LAST UNGA, WE CAN EXPECT THAT THE GOG WILL NOT ALWAYS BE FULLY RESPONSIVE TO OUR REPRESENTATIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES IF IN ITS VIEW TO BE SO WILL ADVERSELY AFFECT GREEK INTERESTS ON SUCH ISSUES AS CYPRUS. AT THE SAME TIME, AS WE HAVE SEEN WITH RESPECT TO VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE CYPRUS QUESTION, THE GOG WILL NOT HESITATE TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS TO US ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES OF CONCERN TO IT.

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